1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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593 owner of the field, who turned his back and continued working. Then
483 the man was angry with the field owner and wanted to fight with him, so the field owner litigated and was paid half a rupiah and a pig as a fine."

531 It is interesting that Fanam, who gave these anecdotes, on two or
522 three occasions when there were dolls or native human carvings on my verandah, manipulated them in intercourse positions to the great amusement of a mixed audience and was laughingly reproved by some older men and women.

INCEST

835 In contrast to these accounts and behaviors the reaction to incest is
582 interesting. There seems to be little tension and shame associated with it. Marriage to any known kin is considered improper, but marriages between second cousins occur without any social opprobrium. The uncertainty about more distant kinship ties and about the propriety of marriage to such persons is revealed in both Koimani's and Malalaka's autobiography. In both cases these women were willing at first and then used a plea of kinship ties to avoid the marriage. Mother-son, father-daughter, and brother-sister incest were all denied as possibilities. Certainly I could find no local cases of any of these. However, there was an anecdote of brother-sister incest from the Kabola peninsula. In this case the brother had been away for many years and on his return slept with his younger sister, who had grown up during his absence. The affair was generally known; they lived openly together and had a child. The informant's comment on the situation was, "That is bad. People don't get gongs and moko in a marriage like that. Their kin were angry with them." The comments of the informant are almost more interesting than the anecdote itself. It would indicate a complete externalization of the incest breach. Not conscience but commerce is offended.

835 Sexual relations with a stepmother or a sister-in-law are also frowned
[520] upon. There is social disapproval in such cases and whispered gossip in the village but no interference. Action on "incestuous" adultery is held in check by the sense of familial solidarity. In one case of rumored sister-in-law "incest" the husband ignored the matter and stayed away from the house most of the time. In another such case, however, the
[595] husband and the woman's brother made a public scandal, imposed a heavy fine, broke the marriage, and prevented the couple, who seem to have been infatuated with each other, from marrying. In view of the levirate, it is surprising that even as much disapproval attached to the matter as did. In a case of stepmother "incest" the offended father

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ordered his kinsmen to fetch his son and tie him up. The son, unwilling to submit to this humiliation, armed himself and was prepared to fight. Rather than precipitate violence his father dropped the matter. The young man then left his father and went to live in his mother's village, where he married. After his father's death he returned to his own village and gave his father's death feasts. Even after the father's death, marriage to a stepmother would be considered incestuous. The clarification offered was, "He is the one who must give her death feasts, so it is just as though she were his real mother."

The material on incest is obviously trivial. It was practically impossible to get data, not because the informants seemed shocked, but rather because they showed so little interest and had so little to say about it. The myths and autobiographies are similarly lacking in this theme. Rilpada's dreams and some slender data on Mangora might be interpreted as showing more interest in sisters than in other women. Similarly some of the women's autobiographies indicate marked attachments to brothers. I am quite sure there was no conscious and overt awareness of incestuous attachments in the informants, and their attitudes did not seem to exceed the culturally prescribed loyalty and solidarity between siblings.

In the poorly known and varied origin myths there are some implications of brother-sister incest, but again it is not emphasized. In two versions of a myth dealing with the creation of man, Manimoti and his sister Tilamoti came down to earth from above, but the stories then continued with Manimoti's activities as a culture hero, and Tilamoti dropped out completely. In another origin tale, Manimoti and Tilamoti were two of a number of children begotten by Fuilani and the village guardian spirit. They did not marry. In a quite different type of origin tale, two pairs of brothers and sisters met and established the village of Bakudatang with its two lineage houses. One of the pairs had no mother or father and was supposed to have emerged from a cave. They married and bore children, who intermarried with the offspring of the other pair of brother-sister spouses. The whole tale is obviously fragmentary and is not widely known in Atimelang.

The significance of this lack of interest in the incest motif may be explicable in terms of the general thesis so far presented. If human relationships are on the whole shallow and impermanent, there is less likelihood of incestuous fixations, and when they do occur, they do not touch off a problem common to the majority of the people in the group, so that the chances may well be that even incest themes in introduced origin tales are largely otiose.